FELLOWSHIP

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Letter from China

20 cents a copy $2.00 a year

Verses on Our Times

A postwar poem, published in a Berlin newspaper, by one of Germany's best-known older poets, who stood against nazism since its inception.

Were there a song that contained our disaster
Perhaps I could tell you what we endure.
Then it might happen that no one would hate us,
And they who are hostile would cease to torment us.

There is an affliction, which, like gowns of deep mourning,
Builds walls round its bearer, warding off all communion.
Go sing and dance with your gaudy bright ribbons,
But reverently pass by his sanctified grief.

Nights he kept vigil by the corpse of his dearest,
He followed the parting one on his dark journey.
Too close he has been to the Realm of the Shadows:
Do not draw the bereaved into your busy throng.

There is an affliction, which, like a heavenly fire
With all our good fortune consumed also our guilt.
Great as the guilt was, the fine, too, was heavy—
We have paid the full weight of the Judge's decree.

We have no more home, no refuge on earth,
We drag wounded feet in torn remnants of shoes.
We have no more fields, no pasture, no cattle,
We have no more bed, to rest in at night.

We press hungering down hard roads and pathways,
We beg of the beggar for bread from bare larders.
We have no coats in frost or in rainstorms,
We are grateful for rags and dry crusts and rinds.

We have no daughter, no son to support us,
The child has no father to save it, the ill one.
We die by the roadside, in ditches, in mudholes,
We have no graveyards to bury our dead.

We search for our houses in ruins and rubble
And may find a beam, a board, a few steps.
We dig in the ashes for jewels and bodies,
While voices call moaning like ghosts from below.

We hail the freedom and peace of the dead ones,
We are hurt by no blame hurled from Virtue Enthroned.
We are judged by no earthly judge among mortals.
For we have atoned, wearing Fate's bloodstained crown.

RICARDA HUCH
Translated by
Gabriele Humbert Parker

Unclean

Look on my hand, Father,
Read my palm. . . . Tell me all,
Even what I cannot bear:
How it fed swine, Father,
And starved children;
How it loved Caesar's coin
And gave it not at all—
Even unto Caesar.

EDNA BALLOU

Refusal

If you cannot pound with me at doors that will never open;
If you cannot cry out when the sound will be lost in the roar of the sea;
If you cannot try a foolish ladder that will never reach as high as the still white star that is waiting in the sky—

Then I do not care about the squareness
of your shoulders,
The clearness of your eye,
The sureness of your promises.

I cannot share your dapper little future;
Let it tip its hat to me
And then be gone.

LEON THOMSON

Muttered Creed

Never again for any glorious thing
stand in unison,
or repeat after a leader,
or wear an award.
Always plead guilty.
Always say maybe.
Always expect everything—
but land running,
and headed for cover.
Always own a burrow somewhere.
Always know the line beyond which no retreat.
Have the speech ready.
Spring all the answers.
Retire to the mountains.
Barricade the canyon.
Loose the carrier pigeons.
Call out friendliness.
Knock on wood.
Offer to hew wood, carry water.
Greet the enemy.
Fall facing homeward
and calling out clearly:
"Forgive!"

WILLIAM E. STAFFORD

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Review

The arm is bayonet good
and the feet for marching.

The eyes can lick over a blasted town
and then read a menu.

The voice can sing anthems for action
and then pray.

But the heart is not big enough:
it can't arm itself; it can't march.

It can't even beat near a blasted town
and then sing.

The heart is rejected for military service,
or for essential civilian duty.

What are you doing here, heart?
Heart, whose side are you on?

WILLIAM E. STAFFORD

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

November 1947 — Vol. XIII—No. 10

Subheads

Solution

Senator Flanders, from the Republican hills of Vermont, has suggested that inflation might be checked by the deliberate creation of a "small pool of unemployment."

This seems like an awfully good idea as far as it goes, but we think it ought to be carried a little farther. Since the whole purpose of the pool would be to encourage workers to stay employed by accepting whatever wages employers want to offer, the effect could be heightened by some ingenious additions to the status of unemployment. For instance, a law might be passed prohibiting payment of unemployment insurance or relief allotments to the unemployed. Instead—since it would be wasting natural resources to allow them to die—such persons would be compelled to stand in line three times a day at public soup kitchens, preferably wearing signs identifying them for the lazy bums they are. If that sort of humiliation were to make men so desperate that they would somehow manage to find jobs anyway, this contingency could be handled by an agreement among employers to lay off two percent of their employees whenever the pool ran dry. This might have the effect of slowing up production, but that in turn could be offset by increased prices.[1]

What gives the whole thing an added fillip for us is the effect it would have on other countries. How could anyone think of turning to communism if they saw capitalism solving its problems that well?

Ougar

There's a new outfit, we've discovered, operating in the good will and fellowship circuit. This one calls itself the World Friendly Relations League, and is headed by a Madame Jeffery who describes herself as a psychologist, a Sister of Light, and "just plain vital." The WFRL hasn't yet, apparently, made application to join the Consultative Peace Council, but we thought it might be wise to pass along the background on Madame Jeffery just in case.

As an occasional speaker before luncheon clubs and women's groups, Madame Jeffery traces our problems in the world to the fact that individually, we are out of tune.

"People use 2,000 electronic thought waves a second," she explains. "So get your heart under mental control, wake it up with breath, then make it the town hall of your body. This is done by forcing your breath to your brain where it will generate ougar."

That's what she said, ougar. So far as we could discover, ougar was an Indian word of long standing and significance, a vitalizing substance which the blood will carry through the body with a sense of complete rebirth.

"People can become dynamic, revitalized and rejuvenated if they relax when they sneeze," she went on. "Or they can achieve a similar effect by resting with their feet over their heads."

Madame Jeffery acknowledged that these instructions might require a little practice, particularly for the novitiate, so offered a simpler suggestion. Everyone's bedroom should be done over in a rosy pink. How then, she demanded, could they help but wake up in an equivalent attitude, just brimming with good will and love for all mankind?

"You see," she continued, "we must all expand or shrink. When I go to bed at night, I expel breath to the utmost and relax, and then afterwards I breathe out love to all, everywhere. Breath produces in the body the soul state of electrism."

Go-Getter

That admirable spirit of Yankee aggressiveness so beloved of Horatio Alger and the NAM showed up again recently in a United Press news story, based on an interview with Melvin M. Johnson, Jr., president of Johnson Automatics, Inc.

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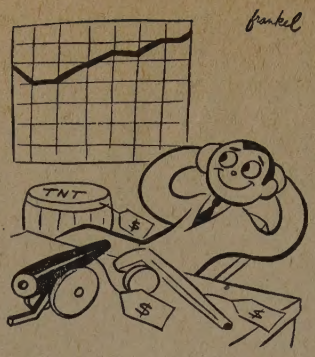
1 The supply of shoes caught up with demand last summer, but prices did not go down. "Today output is cut to support prices." —*Business Week*, Aug. 2, 1947.



Mr. Johnson, inventor of the Johnson machine gun and semiautomatic rifle, and an uninhibited manufacturer of same, revealed that business is very, very good. Secret agents of foreign governments will, he anticipates, give his company orders for "many millions" of dollars worth of guns before the end of this year. Mr. Johnson confided that he has had secret conferences with agents of European, Middle, Near, and Far Eastern countries; that he has dispatched specially trained representatives overseas; and that he will shortly leave for South America himself for a "top secret" conference.

What seemed to us especially smart of Mr. Johnson and his associates is that this rush of business did not catch them unprepared. "For the past two years," reports Mr. Johnson modestly, "our technicians have continued to develop and improve weapons, anticipating the inevitable situation which today confronts the world."

Saucers

A dispatch from China last month told of a flying saucer which dropped into a little village twenty miles southeast of Chengtu. Silver in color and rectangular in shape, it came equipped with two radio tubes, four small batteries, a mysterious funnel on one side and a strange length of paper which fluttered from the bottom. There were some English inscriptions, the report added, indicating the affair had been fabricated in the United States.

We first read the account with something like an involuntary shudder. But after examining it, we decided this wasn't any new outbreak of international jitters, but more likely a delayed, oriental form of leg-pulling. Other nations joined in the global guffaw that went up at our expense last July and, as might have been expected, chuckled, snorted or scoffed strictly in tune with their own position in the world. Canadians, for example, suffered from the same horrible fascination that we did. "We have now come to understand," confessed the *Montreal Star,* "the man who said he didn't believe in ghosts, but he was scared of them." The British were scornfully logical. "In weather as hot as this," the *Times* proclaimed, "imagination tends to become fevered." *Pravda,* of course, found political implications ("Citizens of a country which possesses the atomic bomb ought not be afraid of anything"), while the stolid Dutch, through their paper *Nieuwe Gazet,* dismissed the tales as part of the current war of nerves. "Flying saucers, the theft of documents in high places, all these sensational reports have one aim," it hinted darkly.

Probably the most scientific of the bunch were the Australians. There a psychology professor took his class of forty students out into the open and asked them to stare fixedly into the blue for fifteen minutes. More than half reported they saw the saucers.

And now come the Chinese to add a delicate postscript to the whole sorry business. The Chinese now constitute, of course, one of our poorer relations, but in studying the item we get a distinct impression of an inscrutable snicker up a ragged sleeve.

The Military Mind—I

"Young men of this country are naturally conservative and conventional, not radical in their opinions. The 'Red Danger' in the colleges is a lot of noise, and very little more. If we had compulsory military training and a conscription system, we could park our spurs on the desks and let citizens go hang. . . . But with a voluntary training system we need the limelight . . . and . . . the best way to bring anything to the attention is to start a fight about it. . . . Keep your eyes open on the subject of 'Reds' in colleges; but do not open them wide with fear; open them, rather, with a mind to promptly seizing the opportunities for publicity and counter measures, which the 'Red' criticism may afford."

—*Army and Navy Register,* 1931.

The Military Mind—II

"The Army is 80,000 men under strength and new enlistments are running 25 percent short of the number required for bare replacement of discharges, it was disclosed today.

"War Department figures show that enlistments for the first seven months of 1947 were at an average of 22,862 a month . . . "

—UP Dispatch, August 29, 1947.

"The Army is turning down half the applicants for enlistment, its recruiting chief states. Three out of every five men rejected failed to meet stricter mental requirements, Maj. Gen. St. Claire Street told the Senate Appropriations Committee."

—*Washington Post,* July 8, 1947.

"Passing grade for the Army general classification test has been raised to 21 points more than the wartime grade and 11 points more than the postwar grade of 69."

—*Concern,* September 10, 1947.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The American Legion Auxiliary (female) passed a resolution advocating UMT. In the preamble appeared the sentence: "Weapons, no matter how diabolic, are worthless without trained men to man them."

* * *

A Japanese general went on trial the other day for his "war crimes," charged with being "one of the earliest and most consistent advocates of military service in Japan."

* * *

The smugglers' union has gone on strike in France, protesting the laxity of border guards in permitting amateur smugglers to cross the border unmolested.

The Two Resistances

By G. SCHWARTZ

One is born to resistance as one is born male or female, but there are two resistances, and only one is the way to lasting peace. A moving and prophetic statement by a leader of the French wartime resistance, delivered last summer at Le Chambou.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPRESSION is not essentially a physical one, nor do all have the same manner of resisting. Indeed there were many who deemed it insane folly to resist at all, and saw compromise as the only path. There were many such among the men of Vichy and their adherents.

Why then did some resist and others not? Was it a matter of education? Of moral habit? Of courage versus cowardice? Such explanations do not explain. We saw weak-willed men transformed into heroic martyrs of the Resistance. We saw others whom we had known as good men—leaders—drawn into collaboration with the Nazis.

Ours is an age when men tend to look for sociological explanations, considering that environment determines man's behavior. Thus a good many seek an explanation in the Marxian concept of the class-struggle: it is the workers who resist, the bourgeoisie who compromise. And it is a fact that large numbers of workers, especially in the large industrial centers, joined the Resistance. Nevertheless, the sociological explanation is not adequate. One must penetrate into the human spirit, the conscience, where exist extreme simplicity and great beauty.

The people of the Resistance obeyed the same law as that which governs the universe. Law is necessity, inevitability. Men resisted simply because they could not do otherwise. "So help me God, I can do no other."

Resistance was not the fruit of a cold calculation. One is born to Resistance as one is born male or female, blond or brunette. Resistance is the opposite of adaptation: it is a refusal to compromise, to recognize or abdicate before the might of the conqueror. Aragon has expressed it:

You can live, you can live.
You can live as we do.
Say that one word which will deliver you
And you can live—but on your knees!

I have said all that can be said.
I have showed you what King Henry did:
"My kingdom for a horse."
A Catholic mass in exchange for Paris!

It would take but a word, just a lie,
To transform your destiny.
Think, think, only think
Of the sweetness of new mornings.

• • •

And if it were all to do again,
I would go down the self-same road.
For the voice which cries out from chains
Speaks to the men of tomorrow.

The Resistance does not arise from one's own will but from that Light which imposes itself on the whole moral being, the Power which impels and rules over not only the weak but the strong.

The Resistance became an obsession, as though it were a jealous God. "I am the Eternal, your God, a jealous God." The greater part of the Resistance had never read the Bible, yet they were open to the divine Light. Believers and unbelievers were united in one fraternity as Aragon noted:

He who believed
And he who did not
Together adored her, the beautiful
Prisoner of the soldiers.
He who climbed the ladder upward
And he who searched below.
He who believed
He who did not.

What does it matter the name
Of this light for their footsteps?
Or that one came from the chapel
And the other had left it?
He who believed
He who did not.
Their red blood streamed down
The same brightness.
He who believed
He who did not.
It ran down and down and mingled
With the soil that they loved
So that, in the season to come,
Sweet grapes might ripen.

When total victory came, complete as in our most grandiose dreams, we were overwhelmed with joy. God had permitted us to come out alive from this dark trial. The justice of God was executed according to Isaiah: "Woe to thee that destroyest, and thou wast not destroyed; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee! When thou hast ceased to destroy, thou shalt be destroyed; and when thou hast made an end of dealing treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee."

We were still drunk with our victory, when the men returned from the concentration camps, those hells of this scientific Twentieth Century. It will take generations to wash the human spirit clean of this pestilential nightmare. What was the cause of this disaster? How are we to understand it?

But in these enormous houses of carnage
No one was spared.

There were young girls made for living, for living,
Whose breasts warm and heavy were destined for love.

There were boys whose road to Calvary was so long
That no one ever knew why they carried so heavy a cross.

There were also the old ones with pious and haggard eyes
Whose only crime was that they wanted to go on living.
And there were children, coldly killed, before their mothers' eyes.
Their own children, flesh of their flesh.

All these martyrs, and not one of them wanted to die.
Yet on them experiments were tried which ran the whole range of violation,
So that the beast might reign in the glory of his millenium:
Gas chambers and furnaces, Order, Work, Selection.

Treblinka, Vorsoire, Majdanek, Dachau,
Therienstadt, Belsen, Auschwitz, Birkenau.
Here were exterminated millions upon millions,
Men, women, children, babies, embryos.

All of them Christs without a cross,
Without process of law, outside of the law.
Clinging to life, pleading
"Innocent. Innocent. Innocent."

Must the cry of revolt rise from the heart and rebound back from the face of the Eternal? Have they lost favor altogether?

They had done no crime. They were really innocent, like Him who had preceded them, martyrized in His flesh, also hated without reason: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And when they had crucified him, they parted his garments among them. Nothing must be neglected in this methodical war.

Gentleness Alone Can Save

What would my loved ones, slain, now ask of me? Hatred? Hatred killed them. Justice? What justice? A corrupt justice killed them. They ask only one thing—simple, great—that which they missed the most. Gentleness—that alone could have saved them.

Listen, then, to the cries of these millions of dead, of all races and nations. A great cry rises up: Give us Gentleness, so that this ordeal may not be repeated, so that men may not perish from the earth.

Not science, technique, comfort, bread, reason, justice, will suffice; but Gentleness alone is enough. "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels but have not love, I am become sounding brass and a clanging cymbal. . . . And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

Where find this love incarnate if not in Him, our elder brother? If he is the Son of Man, he is also the way for man. He is the symbol of the humanity to come for which from now on we must prepare the path.

We must resist once more, therefore, and in a new and more difficult Resistance. Against ourselves we must resist in order that we may not be drawn again into wars that divide humanity.

These two Resistances have for centuries opposed each other, even in our own hearts—hatred and forgiveness; violence and non-violence; indifference and love. In the Old Testament and in the Baghavad Gita also these two Resistances are pictured, the Resistance of justice against injustice, and the Resistance of love against justice, the law, the letter, sin. Both come in a sense from God, but the first comes to be understood by men less highly evolved, less mature; the second by men who are spiritually more highly developed. This concept of unfolding revelation and understanding appears to be man's way of comprehending the divine reality and appears also to unify the contradictions of history. In truth there is no contradiction between the Old Testament and the New, between the two Resistances. "I came not to destroy but to fulfill." Is there a contradiction between childhood and maturity?

Prepared for the New Resistance

It is absurd in the name of love to condemn the passion for justice which was the source of the Resistance, in the name of which, alas, violence and perhaps injustice were committed. It was necessary because it was the will of God. But it has prepared us for the other Resistance which is to come and has enabled us to see that injustice can never really be conquered by justice, by violence, but only by love.

We have been enabled to see that the circle of false justice in which man revolves must be broken. The atom bomb is ready. In the face of the atom bomb, what will you do?

The time is short. We are too well armed to stand another world war. The path of treaties is an illusory one. Justice, democracy—they are words without sense. Many paths are pointed out to us but they all end in death, death for all men, covered with blood, all human creatures.

The concentration camps weigh on us as long as the problem they pose is not truly solved. It is impossible to ignore this reality and behave as if nothing had happened. "Who is there among you that will give ear to this? that will hearken and hear for the time to come? Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? did not Jehovah? he against whom we have sinned. . . . Therefore he poured upon him the fierceness of his anger, and the strength of battle: and it set him on fire round about, yet he knew not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart."

This tragedy which befell Israel was not strictly Jewish, and it was not an accident. "Yet what has happened is terrible," men say. "Let us therefore punish Germany and all will be well. And then we can go back to our own affairs."

This might do, if indeed the Germans were pure incarnations of crime and the Jews were expiatory victims incarnate. But we must understand that we are all bound together as criminal and victim, slave-driver and slave. Each of us is both in himself. A profound solidarity unites all men. We are indeed members one of another. All generations of men in the course of all the ages should be thought of as one man, the self-same man who, as Pascal suggested, subsists always and learns continuously.

Solidarity is not only an external fact on this

planet now grown so small but it is an interior reality. We all form one body. The lynching of the Negro, colonial wars, these are thorns in our own flesh. It is we who bleed over there.

German civilization, art, science, technique, were our civilization. The concentration of factors which transformed Germans into monsters could have occurred in another country and with the same result. All of us carry this twentieth century, the sap of which circulates in our organs. We are branches of one tree. If trees are judged by their fruit, we must say that we have borne poisonous fruit. It is a grave error to underestimate the tragedy of our epoch.

It is also an error to condemn without discrimination this century which has brought so much light to man—science, technology, comfort, means to the good life. These are not factors in human degeneracy; they are products of the mind. But man like the Sorcerer's Apprentice has become the slave of the forces he has unchained. Thus, in spite of all the "good will," the international treaties and the rest, it is actually possible that the apocalyptic catastrophe of atomic war might overtake him.

Is there a remedy? Yes, but only one. When the tree becomes utterly worthless, it simply has to be destroyed and another planted. The "old man," the conformist, the provincial, the idolater, must once and for all die in us in order that the divine sap may circulate in us. What matter if in order to understand truth man must transform himself completely? It is a new birth, a leap of faith, or man is chained forever to the cycle of evil leading to evil.

It is thus necessary for man to understand that it is never the end, however grandiose, which justifies the means. The end is not a metaphysical entity abstracted from reality; it is not exterior to the means. The end is bound up in the means. There is no way that leads to God: God is himself the Way.

Few pacifists pay their taxes these days without misgivings. Should they cease such payments? An active FOR member who has stopped paying presents—

The Case for Tax Refusal

By ERNEST R. BROMLEY

WHILE THE PREVAILING CONCERN of pacifists after 1939 was with refusal of types of work that would "aid the war effort," there developed among them also an increasing uneasiness over the matter of paying taxes levied to finance the war. After the imposition of the ten percent "Defense Tax" in January 1941, the FOR Executive Committee issued a statement saying:

> A number of our correspondents have stated that it was only by a process which they felt to be rationalization that they could bring themselves to pay the income tax this year, and in particular the ten percent specifically designated "defense tax." Others have suggested that if several hundred conscientious objectors to war "refused to pay the tax and took the consequences," it would be a stirring witness to the pacifist determination to refuse any participation in the war.

January 1943 saw the addition of a five percent "Victory Tax" and the beginning of "withholding." New agitation arose among pacifists, which the FOR Executive Committee recognized with a statement calling the Victory Tax "more clearly an out-and-out war tax than most taxes," and observing that for the first time the FOR as an organization had been called upon to become a coercive agent of the war-making state.

The cost of World War II, in money, was more than a trillion dollars.[1] The universal public debt is the largest in history, ours being 275 billion, or $1,985 per capita. For these outstanding debts none of the major countries has any plan for large-scale repayment, yet the further exhaustion of their peoples through taxes for even more gigantic armaments continues.

Thirty cents of every dollar the U.S. Treasury spends during the fiscal year of 1948 will go to the armed forces. The amount is eleven billion dollars—more than 400 times as much as the total yearly budget of the United Nations! In the fiscal year of 1944, ninety-four cents of every dollar expended from the Treasury went for expenses directly connected with war, of which the Army and Navy appropriation was only a part; in 1945, eighty-nine cents; in 1946, eighty-four cents; in 1947, eighty cents. In 1948, seventy-five cents will be spent for these purposes.

Thus two years after the war's close we are spending three times as much for past and future wars as we are for all other governmental endeavors combined. There is no telling now, in a country whose direct military budget is twice what it was the year before the war and whose commitment (by virtue of the "Truman Doctrine") is to every nation wishing to arm against communism, what bills the American taxpayer will be called upon to meet.

Josephus Daniels, in a recent editorial, said: "If the requests of the Army and Navy are granted, we will be going toward the time when every male

1 *Tax Policy.*

citizen will go to work carrying a soldier on his back. Do we wish to adopt the Nazi idea of the Man on Horseback?"[2] Former Treasury Secretary Morgenthau pointed out correctly that taxes can be reduced only by the elimination of the billions of annual outlay for the War and Navy Departments, which, he said, is not in payment for the last war, but "a preparation for another war."[3]

Whereas in 1917 the debt was only three percent of the national income, it is today about 168 percent.[4] Edward Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, gave five reasons for the fall. Two of them were "higher and higher taxes," and "the building of gigantic armaments when the real enemy was within."

Such developments merit the attention of all serious-minded people, and call upon members of the FOR to re-examine the words in their *Statement of Purpose*: "Although members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words, they refuse to participate in any war, or to sanction military preparations."

Rockets, jet planes, germ-sprays, atom bombs: "You who believe in an ethical universe—could you still preach or practice personal morality if you had participated in such hideous sins as these? And these will be *your* acts, if your country goes to war again—unless you take a stand against them. You cannot shift responsibility to the government."[5]

The potent words of Thoreau a century ago thunder down to us: "If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be as violent and bloody a measure as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood."[6] No one thing so beclouds the pacifist witness today against the way of war and its preparation as the wholesale, voluntary support of the finance of armaments.

Anti-Conscription Work Challenged

Pacifists have long proclaimed that conscription and armaments go hand in hand, and many certainly would resist boldly in the event of the adoption of peacetime conscription, but so far they have given no indication of a willingness to take a similar stand against increasing armaments. Unless real objection can be made to *both* conscription and armaments, should we not question seriously the efficacy of pouring valuable energy, time, and money into merely one? Can pacifists rightly think ill of scientists who continue to build up our stockpile of atom bombs, if they themselves continue to finance both the bombs and the scientists? John Woolman, who could see no effective difference between actually fighting a war and supporting it with taxes, wrote of fellow Quakers who kept their civil offices and helped in things pertaining to war:

> But being in doubt whether to act or crave to be excused from their office, if they see their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on said wars, may think their case not much different, and so might quench the tender movings of the holy spirit in their minds. Thus, by small degrees, we might approach so near to the fighting that the distinction would be little else than the *name* of a peaceable people.[7]

The long resistance of numbers of Quakers to taxes that disturbed their consciences has helped to keep that witness alive to our day. Woolman reported that certain Quakers in 1755[8] held a "weighty conference in the fear of the Lord," where this subject was discussed. Of the conference he wrote: "To refuse active payment at such a time might be construed into an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England; still there was a scruple so fixed on the minds of many Friends that nothing moved it."[9]

Tax Refusal A Quaker Heritage

Because the Quakers, who had ruled the Pennsylvania Colony for nearly seventy-five years, would not appropriate funds for the French and Indian War, the English threatened to take away their charter; the Quakers replied by withdrawing from government rather than accede. There is ample proof in the archives that this resistance was carried on by Quakers through the Revolutionary War, and that there was the spoiling of goods and the imprisonment of thousands in Britain and the Colonies for refusal to pay tithes to an enforced church.[10]

One of the clearest and most appropriate instances of war-tax refusal is the stand that was taken by the relatively peaceable Algonquin Indians, in the face of taxation for armaments by the Dutch. William Kieft, Director General of the New Netherlands in 1637, sold arms to the distant Iroquois, long enemies of the near-by Algonquins. When the latter heard of it they were enraged. Kieft then conceived the idea of pacifying the offended ones by assuring them protection. He spent a great deal of money on Fort Amsterdam and other works, which, he claimed, were protections for Algonquins as well as Dutch. Then he levied a tax to help pay for the expensive armament, and sent his collectors to the Indians. The collectors were met with a storm of resistance. "Protection indeed! His fort was no protection to them. They had not asked him to build it, and were not going to help maintain it."[11]

In tax resistance on grounds of principle there is probably no greater figure than John Hampden. In 1627 he spent nearly a year in prison in Hampshire for refusing to pay his proportion of a tax the king attempted to levy on his own authority. In 1634 Charles again levied a tax which he claimed was for military service, and that everyone owed. It was extended into peacetime and levied on a vaster scale. Hampden alone refused. He owed only twenty shillings, and was well able to pay. The amount was negligible, also, either in or out of the king's coffers. But a vital principle was involved. In a court of twelve judges, seven were against him and one un-

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2 Editor, *Raleigh News and Observer;* former Secretary of the Navy.
3 *New York Times*, September 29, 1946.
4 Based on the 1946 national income of $164 billion.
5 Quoted from the widely distributed FOR pamphlet *Choose You This Day.*
6 From the essay *Resistance to Civil Government.*
7 *Journal*, Harvard Classics Edition. Italics mine.
8 During French and Indian War. Meeting held in Philadelphia.
9 *Journal*, p. 217.
10 Consult the *Collections of Sufferings*, and *Persecutions of the Quakers*, by Joseph Besse, and other sources where hundreds of cases are dealt with separately.
11 John Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, Vol. I, p. 156.

decided. Though he stood guilty under England's laws, the only effect of the decision was "to make the public indignation stronger and deeper."[12] His refusal was followed by nearly the whole county of Buckingham, and a large part of England as well. Six years later the judgment was declared annulled, and the tax was declared illegal.

Early America gave one of the most spirited and effective refusals to oppressive taxes that the world has seen. When in the afternoon of December 16, 1773, John Rowe, after hours of the crowd's fruitless discussion in the Old South Meeting House, ventured, "Who knows how tea will mingle with salt water?" for Boston the awful question of the years was as good as settled. New York and Philadelphia met the tea ships and turned them back, outside the harbor; Charleston confiscated the tea; Baltimore caused the burning of the tea aboard the *Peggy Stuart*. Though in England these acts were viewed as undignified, obstreperous, and base, John Adams could say with joy: "This is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity in this last effort of the patriots that I greatly admire."

The long stand of Gandhi on resistance to taxes levied by Britain, and the consequent policies of the independence movement in this regard, need no repetition here. The Declaration of Independence, dated January 26, 1930, and prepared by that great soul of India, affirms:

> We will therefore prepare ourselves by withholding so far as we can all voluntary association from the British government and will prepare for civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured.

[12] From Lord Macaulay's *Nugent's Memorials of Hampden.*

During the war many a pacifist recognized his compromise, and declared a wish for a large-scale movement against war taxes. He realized that, though he might protest the payment of his taxes, no really genuine protest would be made until such time as he would say to the Treasury: "I have stopped. I can no longer go on. If you want this tax that much, you must come and seize it where you can."

It is patent that the growing concern over taxes has increased steadily since the close of the war simultaneously with the multiple dangers to world peace. It augurs well that Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, recently called for a *fundamental change in purpose and method.* That alternative service, ambulance squads, and world relief are valid testimonials of the will to peace, no one would venture to gainsay. But that these are fundamental approaches to the problem of humanity's hurtling toward destruction, no one would care to defend. It is as if the Quakers of a former day speak wisdom to our age, and as if the spirit of the early Christians comes down closer. Those Christians, when taxed by the heavy hand of Rome to build up heathen temples, steadfastly refused in the face of all that came.[13]

The argument that war has been, or will be from now on, the lesser of two evils is at this moment being doubted by every thinking person in the land. We do not know how many would follow in a movement of non-payment of war taxes, which is indeed clear-cut in design and unmistakable in direction; but we do know that the principle is as worthy, and the cause as important, as any principle or any cause that existed in the days of Hampden, Woolman, or Thoreau.

This is the first of two articles on tax-refusal by Ernest Bromley. The second will appear in the next issue of FELLOWSHIP.

[13] Cave, *Primitive Christianity,* Vol. III, p. 326.

Law and World Citizenship

By HARROP A. FREEMAN*

THE POPULAR CONCEPTION OF CITIZENSHIP pretty much stops at the right to vote, while the law usually recognizes two aspects: "allegiance to" and "protection by" a state. Actually, citizenship is merely one recognized "status" people may have, just as alienage is also a status. How inadequate are our usual connotations of "allegiance" and "protection" may be seen by recalling that aliens owed such qualified allegiance to this country that they were subject to draft under Selective Service, that aliens are entitled to most of the protections of individual liberty guaranteed by the Constitution—freedom of religion, speech and press—and that now, by the Girouard case, a person can obtain American citizenship without the old test of allegiance, bearing arms.

The status of citizenship (often referred to as nationality)[1] is derived in one of four ways (1) place of birth *(jus soli)*, (2) nationality of parents *(jus sanguinas)*, (3) exercise of an option to elect between these, (4) naturalization. The United States recognizes all four of these. The Constitution, Amendment 14 provides that "all persons born *(jus soli)* or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." The U. S. Code, title 8, sec. 6, states that "all children heretofore born or hereafter born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were or may be at the time of their birth citizens thereof, are . . . citizens of the United States . . . " *(jus sanguinas)*, and by the Act of March 2, 1907 such a child upon reaching eighteen must elect whether he will become an American citizen (option).

It would not occur to the average person that he

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[1] Nationality in international law does not refer to the racial group, but to the bond between the state and its members.

could be a citizen of two political divisions at once. Yet there are numerous well-recognized examples. One of the alleged reasons for moving the Japanese-Americans from the West Coast was that they had a dual citizenship (the same choice had by a person born of American parents outside the United States). During the first World War, the United States protested to Italy because two American-born sons of Italian parents (Ghiloni and Da Prato) upon going to Italy to study were drafted into the Italian army. A like protest was lodged with France over the case of Le Long. The United States Constitution recognizes both a federal and a state citizenship; this was also true of Germany until 1934. By virtue of parallel statutes dominion citizenship and Commonwealth citizenship are bestowed on all residents of the dominions.[2] There have been frequent proposals for inter-American citizenship and some South American states by convention recognize reciprocal citizen status. And it is worth noting that individuals may create a nationality for their business in addition to that of the natural persons through association or incorporation.

Children's Chorus, 1947

What mind has the pathos of wisdom and words
To score the full grief of this terrible song—
A chorus of children like storm-driven birds,
In piteous wailing, all day, all night long.
For home and for mother, for shelter, for bread,
Again and again comes the soul-piercing cry.
The song is an ominous chant for the dead,
Which haunts all the earth with war's long question, "Why?"

—Elinor Lennen

How to Give Up Citizenship

Originally nations took the view that "once a citizen, always a citizen" and that no person could surrender citizenship save with the consent of the sovereign. Mussolini held to this view throughout the 1930's. The conflict between the United States and Britain on this score during the first half of the 19th century ultimately led to the adoption in international law of the right of expatriation. But the popular ballad, "The Man Without a Country," and reference in international law to "stateless persons" and national withdrawal of citizenship from a part of its people (e.g. Germany) to the contrary notwithstanding, a person loses one citizenship only by obtaining another. Various legal writers have proposed simplified methods of shifting citizenship, including mere domicile for two years so that an American oilman going to Saudi Arabia would take his chances with all other citizens of that country and not be a little "American island" there to be protected by American marines. Nevertheless, it is the legal rule that new citizenship can be obtained only by naturalization, by which the individual abjures allegiance to the old and solemnly assumes allegiance to the new.[3]

Two proposals long urged by pacifists imply world citizenship: (1) that international policing operate, if at all, against individuals, (2) that an international bill of rights be adopted. Plans for an elected international legislature and the UN Charter guarantee of fundamental human rights and freedoms are also slanted in this same direction. There are also some precedents for such citizenship.

Not only do the United States, Russia and the British Commonwealth represent supra-state citizenship but there are also numerous examples of international citizenship and citizenship (status) in leagues which were not also nations. Ancient Greek leagues, particularly the Achaean League, granted league citizenship which continued even after the individual city-state had disappeared. The Holy See gives a kind of qualified international citizenship to functionaries of the church and has maintained this position against other nations.

After World War I, the League of Nations issued so-called Nansen certificates to displaced persons, particularly Russian, Armenian, Assyrian and Turkish refugees. These recognized a limited international citizenship without nationality. And it has been several times proposed that the UN grant similar international status to World War II displaced persons, particularly Jews.[4] The immunity accorded diplomats and their protégés is a similar international status and at one time in parts of Turkey "the foreign protégés were more numerous than Ottoman subjects themselves."[5] Recognition of a qualified international status for all delegates to the old League of Nations and to the UN marks the crossing of another frontier toward international citizenship.

It has often been suggested that "territory" is essential before any body can grant citizenship. Yet the cases referred to above and the action of the British in recognizing a citizenship of the Polish army disprove any such requirement. It will be true that if UN obtains a permanent seat (territory) additional reasons for international citizenship will result.

There appears to be no American constitutional restriction to international citizenship. A person may have a state, national and international status as well as a mere national one. Nevertheless, it is doubtful, even if international status (similar to the Nansen certificates) be created, whether an individual could expatriate and acquire international citizenship without the consent of his national government. The simplest method of establishing international citizenship would be to write it into the charter of an international organization. The adoption of the charter (or amendment) by nations would then confer international citizenship on nationals. Unfortunately, that is not likely to happen until a great deal more educational effort and cooperation produces the desire for an international organization operating on and in favor of individuals.

[2] This is denied by some (Markwald v. A. G., 1920, 1 Ch. 348). Nationals of the USSR have a single nationality.

[3] A nice question arises whether "A" who gives up Italian citizenship and obtains American citizenship is "Stateless" when later his American citizenship is cancelled (e.g. for fraud).

[4] A statement—see *New York Times*, Nov. 17, 1946, p. 6—points up the pertinence of this article. See also *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1946, stating a plan for such certificates to be issued this year. (15 nations approve).

[5] U. S. Foreign Relations, 1913, p. 1331.

"Just Wars" and the Theologians

By E. I. WATKIN*

THE EXCELLENT RULES, an expression of enlightened common sense which moral theologians and canonists have laid down to determine whether a war is or is not just, that is to say morally justified, have been in practice a dead letter. For it is often very difficult in the complexities of a concrete situation to discover, with any certainty, whether they have been fulfilled by the government which has declared or accepted war.

In face of these difficulties Catholic moralists, inspired by the laudable desire to ease the burden on conscience, have permitted those who cannot answer these questions of fact to abide by the decision of their rulers, who are presumed to be in possession of more information.

But how is it possible to accept, as to the justice of a dispute, the judgment of an interested party? There would be no civil justice if the jury were allowed to accept uncontested the judgment of plaintiff or defendant. The permission, therefore, to accept the statement of one of the parties to a war that his cause is just, must obviously nullify, in practice, the distinction affirmed in theory between justifiable and unjustifiable war. Laws whose application were left for the interested parties would be practically worthless. Moreover, the Catholic clergy have not confined this permission, in itself so unsatisfactory, to accept the judgment of the ruler, in cases where after honest inquiry the individual remains in doubt whether the war he is asked to support is, or is not, justifiable. He is told that he need not, indeed ought not, to inquire, but can and should accept without any inquiry the judgment of the interested ruler who, of course, claims that his case is just even when it is the most glaring aggression. In consequence, history records no single instance of a national hierarchy, or, we believe, any member of it, pronouncing any war declared or waged by his government unjust.

Could anyone in his senses suppose that Norway or Holland had made or was preparing to make an attack against Germany in 1940? On the contrary, they had clung desperately to the strictest neutrality. Yet no German bishop attempted to prevent German Catholics taking part in these obvious aggressions, which, however, as unjustifiable wars, were mass murder. Blinded by a false patriotism men of the noblest moral character permitted their flocks to commit such murder without a word of protest. In practice, that is to say, these convincing and well-stated rules, whose observance would have made the Catholic Church a mighty bulwark against unjust war, have been and are nothing more than a window-dressing.

Catholics who have the cause of peace at heart, therefore, must determine that, so far as they are concerned, this shall be the case no longer, that these rules for discriminating between just and unjust war shall at last be taken from the textbooks and in their own practice at least observed.

And today the chief obstacle has been removed. To determine the justice of the issue on which a war is fought will, as in the past, often be very difficult. Indeed a better organized and more scientific propaganda and a stricter governmental control of information have made it far more difficult than in the past. *But it is no longer necessary, for the justice of the cause is not the sole criterion of justifiable war.* Nor even such tests, often equally or more difficult to decide, as whether or not the war would inflict more evil than the triumph of the just cause could compensate.

There is another test whose application is henceforth simple and plain: even a just war must not be waged by immoral means. Under modern conditions, however, war can be waged only by such aerial bombing as must involve the slaughter and maiming of innocent civilians. This, however, is plainly immoral. To kill the innocent is not a lawful means to any end, however good. Therefore, under modern conditions no war can be waged without employing immoral means. *Therefore it must be unjustifiable.*

This was already clear in respect to the bombings carried out by the Germans and, on a far more extensive scale, by the Allies. And here also we must lament that Catholic bishops in the warring countries have condemned these bombings only when practiced by the enemy, as though what is immoral when done by German airmen, can become moral when done by airmen of British nationality.

Now there has arrived the ultimate diabolism. The atomic bomb can obliterate in a moment an entire city, its men, its women, its children, its heritage of art and history. I marvel that any priest of Christ can be found to give even a tacit approval to such indiscriminate slaughter. No method of war known to human history has approached it for ruthlessness. Compared with those who make and employ such a weapon, Attila and Genghis Khan were humane. And violating so flagrantly the rule forbidding immoral methods of warfare, the atomic bomb violates with equal evidence the rule, above-mentioned, in the past often so difficult to apply, that the evil wrought by a war must not exceed the possible good to be secured by victory. *Our course, therefore is plain. If the rules laid down by Catholic theologians in the past are true, no war can in future be justified on whatever issue.* For it can be waged only by a method so immoral that a more immoral method can hardly be conceived, and must produce far more evil than any good possibly to be derived from victory.

Catholics, that is to say, must either trample the traditional rules under foot or refuse to participate henceforward in any war by conscientious objection if conscripted, in any case by prayer and according to their opportunities by spoken, or written, protest. *At least the path is clear and to find it requires no knowledge of complicated and largely concealed facts. May we with God's grace take it.*

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* Reprinted from *The Catholic Peacemaker* (England) by permission.

Letter from CHINA

[The writer of the following letter has been a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation since its organization, and a missionary to China for more than a quarter of a century. He writes anonymously because he fears reprisals, but he is known and his judgment respected by members of the FOR staff.—Ed.]

SOME MONTHS AGO, the reading of "Letter from China," unsigned, in the pages of FELLOWSHIP, and then of Bronson P. Clark's "Report from Yenan," roused both wonder and protest in the minds of some of us who have had personal experience in dealing with the Communists in our own fields of labor. After spending "a week in the Communist capital," Mr. Clark reports, "my overall impression was quite favorable," and then proceeds with a laudatory account of their aims and accomplishments. We venture to suggest that his impressions could hardly have been so favorable had he stayed longer and seen more, especially in some other areas of Communist occupation.

The Nationalist government has many faults and shortcomings. Too many of its officials are corrupt and self-seeking. Its liberals have too often seemed timid and divided. There are few who deny the need for radical changes. But these could be brought about if only the Communist minority would cease blocking all attempts to achieve national unity and cooperate with other elements in seeking peaceful solutions.

An "Illegally Armed Minority"

The Communist movement in China is the attempt of an illegally armed minority to force its will and rule upon a majority. In "Report from Yenan" Mr. Clark says of the Communists, "Naturally they are bitter that the United States in effect took away from them vast areas, including such cities as Tientsin, Peking, and Tsingtao. These cities became Nationalist strongholds when American planes flew Nationalist troops there from West China immediately after the surrender of Japan." As a matter of fact, those cities have always been Nationalist strongholds ever since the Nationalists came into power in 1928, with the exception of the period of Japanese occupation. All that the United States did after the Japanese surrender was to aid an ally in getting some of its scattered forces back into these centers where the population was and still is at least 70 percent Nationalist in sympathy and allegiance, before the Communist minority could take advantage of the situation and force their unwanted régime upon the people.

The writer lives in one of the above-mentioned cities, and has had intimate personal knowledge of this North China area for many years. He lived for more than ten years in Shantung before the war forced evacuation in 1941, in one of its *hsien* cities. During the period since his return to China in 1946, refugees from this *hsien* city and its surrounding countryside, now in Communist hands, have been drifting into this port city farther north, seeking to escape the Communist terror in Shantung. Some of them are men and women whom we have known for many years. They have come to our home here and told us their stories. Others—a merchant or two, and several pastors and preachers from our former station, who are still living there—have succeeded in making trips north, and we have talked with them for hours about their experiences in the Communist-occupied area. All agree that not more than three out of ten of the people have any faith in the Communist régime or loyalty to it, although it has been in full control in their area for more than two years and is in a section undisturbed by fighting in recent months.

Common People Helpless

The common people are helpless before the armed minority. The small proportion that upholds the new régime is composed largely of "down-and-outers" and "ne'er-do-wells," together with petty officials and others who are furnished employment by the Communists. There is little that resembles democracy, as no one dares to oppose the candidates of the one party and its dictatorial rule. The people live in constant fear. They dare not talk freely even at night in their own homes, since ruthless reprisal is the result of any reported criticisms, and children are taught in Communist schools to report to the authorities any lack of loyalty on the part of their parents. So far has communism departed from the old Confucian standard of filial respect and loyalty!

In no respect is communism more of a menace to China than in its trust in violence, bloodshed, and persecution as the only possible methods of defending and propagating its faith and seeking a new order. All too often, men and women who cannot be brought to give at least lip service to communism are imprisoned, tortured, or killed. It is less than six months since a preacher and his wife from one of our country churches were tied to the rear of a Chinese mulecart and then dragged until they were dead. He was a hardworking, earnest Christian man. The charge against him was that he was a friend of the Americans, although no Americans have been in that field since 1941. Others have been ruthlessly liquidated because they once served as officials under a non-Communist régime, or for having more than the half acre of land per member of the family which "poor farmers" have. No possible peace is in sight in China, and will not be until Communists consent to share with others in exploring non-violent, orderly, cooperative methods of reform, based upon faith in spiritual forces as more effective than coercion. Because they will not do so, a mood akin to despair is common. Hopelessness seems to me to be the most characteristic attitude among present-day Chinese.

American liberals blame Chiang Kai-shek for not making more rapid progress in the reform of China's political and economic life, but forget that he is in the midst of handling widespread rebellion on the part of a fanatic, armed minority, who will make no

effort to find a way of understanding and reconciliation, but only to put the onus of the whole situation on others, while trying by the use of high-sounding words and phrases to persuade the outside world that they stand for the people and a democratic régime! Not believing at all in war, or in the possibility of saving China that way, we still have to admit that Chiang is only doing what any national leader would be compelled to do in this emergency unless he resigned his position.

Communism Anti-Religious

Finally, communism holds no hope for China because of its anti-religious principles and propaganda. Both in precept and in practice, it is consistently against religion. It teaches the people that pastors, preachers and other religious workers are to be classed with soothsayers and fortune tellers as non-essential and parasitic members of society. When religious work is not too obviously successful it is allowed to continue, but under serious restrictions. In one of our churches recently the preacher was forced to leave just because he had built up too large a congregation. In his country church some two hundred people gathered Sunday after Sunday for public worship. This made the authorities suspicious, and all gatherings of more than two or three people have been forbidden unless special permission is secured from headquarters. Practically, this has meant that all effective services of public worship have had to come to an end, for the people are afraid to attend, to be watched and spied upon by officials sent there for that purpose.

After we left our Shantung field in 1941, the Japanese began the destruction of mission houses by appropriating the corrugated iron from the roofs. When they finally withdrew after the surrender, the Communists came in and took charge, tearing down and completely destroying all the missionary residences. Some of the brick they used, and some they sold in the city. As our local church was having difficulty in financing its work, it asked that funds from the sale of the bricks be given to the church to help meet its needs. Some promises were made, but no money was ever paid over. In a neighboring mission station some sixty miles away, comparatively little damage was done to the buildings by the Japanese, but within the past year the Communists who now occupy the city have torn down all mission residences, our Middle School buildings, and an excellent hospital plant—the latter the only one serving a population of some two million people in the outlying country districts, and in the city! In this same region they have also torn down numerous Buddhist temples.

The foregoing account applies to conditions under Communist control in Shantung and Hopei provinces. We have been told that somewhat similar conditions exist in Shansi province.

Perhaps American friends will be able to understand why we feel that this side of the Communist story ought to be told. If more details of quite recent date are desired, we suggest that those interested read Perry O. Hanson's letter, "A Report from China," in the July 30 issue of *The Christian Century*.

CHINA MISSIONARY

Ozymandias

WALLACE HAMILTON

TODAY, SO THE NEWSPAPERS TELL, giants walk the earth. Great Powers bestride the grasslands, the deserts of sand, the floodwaters. They roam through alien villages with heavy feet, kicking over houses and watching the natives scurry.

Let no pygmy be so foolish as to stand before the craggy face, the "wrinkled lip and sneer of cold command." He will be crushed between the giant's toes, left to contemplate his misunderstanding of this modern age, and die.

This is the age of Great Powers, of mighty flesh and muscle. Bards and pundits and correspondents write of the giants with reverent awe. "Yesterday, Ozymandias curled his wrinkled lip. Today Goliath twitched his right bicep. Hercules is giving most careful attention to the latest developments."

The reverence of bards is surely justified. The giants have huge strength. And who is to say where and how far a giant shall walk? To whom is a giant responsible and at what bar of justice shall he stand? What strength can match a giant's strength—except another giant?

These questions haunt and fester and paralyze. Giants are huge, immediate facts.

Yet giants are of humble origin. Giants are pygmy-made. Their flesh is the flesh of pygmies who believe. They grow on the flesh of pygmies who come to believe. Bone and tissue, gland and nerve, giants are fashioned by pygmies out of their own littleness, out of their own poverty and loneliness, out of the vast pretension of Lilliputians.

Giants shall first be judged by their creators. Giants shall be acquitted—a boundless mercy—by pygmy belief. Giants shall be condemned by disbelief, and their flesh shall fall away.

But as the days pass, giants shall be judged by more terrible forces. They shall be judged by sand—that shall sweep over raped farmlands, filter into the viscera of dynamos, and drift against fat-bosomed battlements. They shall be judged by grass—that shall sprout from the crevasses of ruined walls and the humus of moldering flesh.

They shall most terribly be judged by water. . . .

"And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them. . . . And behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth."

News from the Peace Front

New York Police Arrest Freedom Train Amnesty Marchers

At the trial of the Freedom Train demonstrators, on October 9 in New York's magistrate court, the judge listened to the prosecution's testimony, turned to the police inspector who had given permission for the demonstration (and who had not been put on the stand by police) and asked if it were true that he had given such permission. When the inspector said he had, the judge raised his eyebrows and dismissed the case. When demonstrators left the court the Police Prosecutor was still arguing vociferously with the judge.

New York police just can't seem to make up their minds where freedom leaves off and license begins, but they'll be on the safe side when it comes to the pinch.

When the Freedom Train, bearing a load of historic American documents (including eight amnesty proclamations issued within the past 150 years), and guarded by Marines, came to New York at the end of September, the Committee for Amnesty planned a poster walk in front of Grand Central Station to urge that an amnesty be declared for COs of the past war. They checked with police, received permission to demonstrate from six to eight p.m. on September 25, and went ahead. Some of the men wore striped prison suits, one veteran wore his uniform, and in all about forty people showed up to picket with signs and distribute leaflets.

Before seven o'clock, however, police demanded that the number be reduced to twenty, and shortly after that began to crowd the walkers into a smaller and smaller circle, finally dragged them across 42nd Street, and arrested them on the other side. When those who had stepped out of the line saw this they started their own line, and were promptly arrested, too.

While police herded them into doorways to wait for the wagon, two non-participants who stopped to talk to them were arrested, as well as a photographer who had taken no part in the demonstration. In all thirteen men and seven women were arraigned in Night Court, where the New Yorkers were released in the custody of A. J. Muste and Ted Walser, out-of-towners put up bail, and their trial on charges of disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic, loud and abusive language, etc., etc., etc., was set for October 9.

A few days before in Philadelphia, where the Freedom Train began its historic tour, two amnesty demonstrators were arrested for attempting to distribute leaflets at an American Legion rally in honor of the Train. The next day, while Majority Leader of the House Joe Martin told a big crowd that even when our liberties are threatened it is better to allow the threat than to endanger freedom by suppressing it, thirty-five more people picketed up and down near by. The Philadelphia police thought it best to allow them to do so unmolested.

Judge Orders Release of Renunciants

On August 11 Judge Louis E. Goodman of the Federal District Court in San Francisco confirmed a previous court order for the release of 325 Japanese-American renunciants held in Federal custody. The renunciants are American-born persons of Japanese ancestry who renounced their American citizenship while in the Tule Lake segregation center. The District Court's decision held that in spite of this they could not be considered enemy aliens under the law, and therefore could not be deported.

Fort Knox Idea Adapted for Pacifists

Emerson Schwenk, Midwest Secretary of the FOR, is exploring the possibilities of a "Fort Knox for pacifists." The plan is to establish teams of eight or ten persons who will examine their experience to find out in what situations they think pacifism is inadequate, and will then go on to work out pacifist answers to these situations. No vague talky-talky plan, this would eventually enable the formulation of a program of basic training for pacifists, with the development of resources to solve definite problems in the pacifist spirit by those who accept this way of life. The whole point of the experiment is to aim at the level of performance. Anyone interested in becoming a part of this project should write to Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

Modern Spiritual

(Sung to the tune of "There's No Hidin' Place Down Here.")

Composed by Johnny Carr, Donald Coan, Doreen Curtis, A. C. Thompson, and Bayard Rustin at the Interracial Workshop, July 7th, 1947.

You don't have to ride jim crow,
You don't have to ride jim crow,
On June the third
The high court said
When you ride interstate
Jim crow is dead.
You don't have to ride jim crow.

And when you get on the bus,
And when you get on the bus,
Get on the bus,
Sit any place,
'Cause Irene Morgan
Won her case,
You don't have to ride jim crow.

Now you can sit anywhere,
Now you can sit anywhere,
Sit anywhere,
Don't raise no fuss,
Keep cool, but firm,
Your cause is just.
You don't have to ride jim crow.

And if the driver-man says "Move,"
And if the driver-man says "Move,"
If the driver says "Move,"
Speak up polite,
But sit there tight,
You're in the right.
You don't have to ride jim crow.

You don't have to ride jim crow,
You don't have to ride jim crow,
Go quiet-like
If you face arrest;
NAACP
Will make a test.
You don't have to ride jim crow.

But someday we'll all be free,
But someday we'll all be free,
When goodwill action
Turns the tide
And black and white
Sit side by side;
Yes, someday we'll all be free.

You don't have to ride jim crow,
You don't have to ride jim crow,
On June the third
The high court said
When you ride interstate
Jim crow is dead.
You don't have to ride jim crow.

Exodus Refugees Resist Non-Violently

British authorities reported that the refugees of the ship Exodus 1947, who were captured near Palestine and returned to Germany, were thwarting screening and classification efforts of the authorities by passive resistance to attempts to question them.

Misquoting of Gandhi Creates Furore Here

Reports from India that Mohandas K. Gandhi, beloved leader of the Indian people, had declared on September 27 that it appeared that the only way for Hindus to stop persecutions by Moslems was to go to war against Pakistan, created a stir in the United States. Newspapers published the story fragmentarily, with such headlines as "Gandhi Threatens War on Pakistan," giving the impression that he had made a complete about-face and renounced pacifism.

Two days later Gandhi compared the distorted reporting of his speech to a similar incident in South Africa years ago, as a result of which he had almost been lynched. "I hold that not a single mention of war in my speeches can be interpreted to mean that there was any incitement to or approval of war between Pakistan and India," he said, adding that he had meant to show that if the murders, looting and arson continued the people would force the hands of their governments. In conclusion he reiterated that every ounce of his energy had been and is being directed to the avoidance of war, and that he is wedded to non-violence. "Such is my fundamental position from which I hope never to swerve, even to the day I die."

Abe Kaufman, Frank Olmstead Resign

Abe Kaufman, Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League for nineteen years, has announced his resignation from that position. He is resigning for personal reasons, as of January 1, 1948, as is Frank Olmstead, who has been on the staff of the WRL for seven years, but both men will continue working with the WRL in a voluntary capacity. A committee to consider the 1948 program of the WRL, called by Evan Thomas, Chairman, will meet soon.

Refuses to Pay Taxes

Francis B. Riggs, of Cambridge, Mass., FOR member and a Friend, has declared his intention to refuse to pay that part of his income tax which is allocated to war or the preparation for war. He takes his stand on the ground of the moral indefensibility of war, which not only destroys human beings but inflicts irreparable injury on the souls of its participants. Mr. Riggs is not subject to withholding tax, and up until the time that this was written had had no reaction from the government to the publication of his statement.

Jottings

Reports that shortages in Europe were becoming more severe rather than the reverse were accentuated by the recent report from the American zone of Germany to the effect that the drought, the worst in a hundred years, has reduced estimated production by twenty to forty percent. Since the entire crop would not have been enough to feed hungry Europe, this additional cut is disastrous.

* * *

According to latest reports there are still 106 COs and Jehovah's Witnesses in jail—more than two years after V-J Day.

* * *

In Italy the Moderate Socialists recently attempted to secure legislative approval of a measure legalizing conscientious objection and providing alternative service, but were snowed under when Communist and conservative factions united against it. In Switzerland, where Pierre Ceresole suffered for his convictions, a measure has been introduced to give COs much the same status they now have in this country.

* * *

Six Big Flats COs, convicted fourteen months ago for striking against payless labor and military control of CPS, had their sentences suspended on September 30. In August, 1946, the men had been sentenced to eighteen months in jail apiece, and Judge John Knight of the District Court of Buffalo was reluctant even to allow them bail. The same judge has now suspended their sentences, in a remarkable change of mind since the previous decision. The case was handled by the Workers Defense League.

* * *

The Washington, D. C., Pacifist Fellowship wants to exchange newsletters with other local groups. They will carry notes from other parts of the country, and would like to receive letters to the editors of their newsletter supplements, New Horizons, dealing with pacifist theory, and Challenge, containing action suggestions and information. Send to Box 1304, Washington 12, D. C. Transients should let the Washington office know of their coming, and will be welcomed at FOR meetings during their stay.

* * *

Lillian Gorzycki and Robert Pope, FOR members who were married on October 9, requested their friends to send CARE packages overseas in lieu of wedding gifts.

The Reverend Harold Hammer, FOR member, is heading a new experiment in Christian training for rural living at Rio Grande College in Rio Grande, Ohio. With Prof. Alton Kurtz of the college, also an FOR member, and four students, he and his family live cooperatively on the college farm, growing and canning food for the college as a work program and carrying on study, prayer and meditation.

The purpose of the project is to give to students of college age or older a deep Christian experience and fellowship as this is found in relationship to agriculture and rural living. The project would welcome financial assistance, but most of all is interested in reaching young people, especially but not exclusively those interested in rural life and preparing to be farmers, rural teachers and pastors or missionaries. Young people who are interested in more than the standard college curriculum should find it worth while to consider this.

* * *

The State Department, openly fearful of espionage within its own ranks, has just laid down a formal security code providing for the immediate firing of any employe or officer suspected of being a spy, traitor or subversive, of membership, past or present, in Communist, fascist or Nazi organizations, or even of contributing funds to such groups or signing political petitions for them. Thirteen employes of the Department were recently dismissed on suspicion—that's right, on suspicion—and following that a Personnel Security Board was established to study the evidence in suspected cases and give the suspect a hearing. They only have to tell him as much of the charge as they deem "consistent with security," though, and if a "reasonable doubt" exists when they get through with him, out he goes.

* * *

Mrs. Dorothy Clarke Wilson, FOR member and author of more than fifty religious plays and two distinguished novels, is the author of *The Mighty Dream*, a play which will be presented as one of the outstanding features of the Methodist Youth Conference in Cleveland in December. *The Mighty Dream* shows the struggle of man through the centuries to achieve the abundant life, and develops a challenging appeal to young people to achieve the abundant life by alleviating suffering, injustice, prejudice and hatred in the world.

Beam in Our Eye As in Russia's, Says FOR

Spurred by the recriminations exchanged in the UN by the United States and Russia, the FOR Executive Committee, through Charles W. Iglehart, its chairman, has issued a statement urging "a swift and profound change" in the spirit of these exchanges. This new atmosphere and spirit "cannot be created by the continuance of mutual recrimination and threatening," and the Committee urges Americans and their leaders to consider the beam in their own eye and "face the fact that to an appalling extent the indictment which is being levelled against us by spokesmen for Russia is a valid one."

The statement cites demands for universal military training and all-out preparedness from the highest U. S. sources, seconded by the press of this country; the increasing concentration of economic and industrial power in this country and America's economic power in the world; and the great sums which have gone to support reactionary regimes in Europe and Asia.

Realizing that it may well be that Russia is contributing equally to the fear and tension that grip the world, the Committee contends that this cannot wipe out our responsibility, but only "confirms the fear that both nations . . . are bereft of reason and responsibility."

In conclusion the Committee urges that "someone has to stop thinking, talking, preparing for, war. Someone has to begin thinking, talking, preparing for, peace. Someone has to stop arming and begin to disarm. . . . Some nation, before much longer, will have to give itself utterly to feeding the hungry, rebuilding the waste cities, putting wrecked economies back on their feet, providing decent housing for the earth's millions, opening up adequate educational opportunity for its children and youth—and will have to refuse to be deflected from that job by fear or threats or self-interest or lust for power or the lunacy of war."

Wallace Declares Opposition to UMT

Henry Wallace, in a speech on September 20 in New Jersey, declared his opposition to Universal Military Training. Stating that "You don't get peace planning for war," he said that in the final choice for the Presidency he would back Taft, who is against UMT, against Truman, who is for it.

Muste Challenges Scientists Again

In a second plea to Professor Albert Einstein, prompted by the statement of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists at the end of June to the effect that "It is useless to proceed further along this path: one cannot prepare for war and expect peace," A. J. Muste urged the scientists again to put their convictions into action. How can the masses be expected to believe that atomic weapons are as useless for our defense, and as horrible as the scientists say they are, demanded Mr. Muste, if some scientists continue to make them and others, even though no longer actively so engaged, do not openly say to the world and to their scientific colleagues that it is unworthy of a scientist and an honest man to continue to take part in the insane and treasonable business of an atomic armaments race?

Mental Health Foundation Produces Radio Series

The National Mental Health Foundation, founded and fostered by CPS men whose experience during the war on detached service in mental hospitals impelled them to work for the education of the public on mental health and mental institutions, is presenting a thirteen-week radio series entitled "The Tenth Man." With the cooperation of the New York Sarah Lawrence College Alumnae Club, the Foundation is endeavoring through this means to clear up some of the common misconceptions concerning mental illness; to dramatize some of the glaring abuses in the care of our mentally ill; and to point the way toward mental health. The series was inaugurated on October 17, and will be heard on twelve subsequent Fridays on WNEW (1130 on your dial) at 10 p.m. New York time, with actor Ralph Bellamy as Narrator.

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Proposes completely new marriage law
With unconventional discussion of the religio-sexual
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Rustin Defies Jimcrow in Diner

The Southern Railroad was deprived of the use of one of its tables and all diners in the white section were delayed half an hour at breakfast and dinner when Bayard Rustin, FOR Race Relations Secretary, refused recently to move to a seat behind the green jimcrow curtain. Traveling from Washington, D. C., to Knoxville, for a speaking engagement, Rustin entered the diner for breakfast and sat down near the middle of the car. When the train reached Knoxville six hours later, he was still occupying the same seat in the face of repeated requests by the steward that he move, and despite threats of arrest at each stop.

"The open moral support I received from all the waiters, who live in Roanoke," Rustin said, "undoubtedly acted as a brake on the trainmen, who at one point were about to eject me bodily. I had arranged with the waiters for them to phone for legal aid and bail in case of arrest. The nervous steward, I believe, feared a general walkout by the waiters if I had been removed.

"In addition, the white people were most sympathetic. Two of them, strangers to me, intervened in my behalf. In line with the nonviolent program of the FOR against jimcrow, I intend to bring suit against the Southern Railway."

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PEACE
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The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

Cartoonist's Crusade

Let's Be Human, by John L. Beckley. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc. 1947. $2.50.

The pacifist's point of view crops out in such strange places these days (take, for example, General MacArthur's postwar denunciation of war) that it probably should not be too surprising to find it running flagrantly between the lines, and line drawings, of a book devoted to the promotion of better relations between bosses and employees. *Let's Be Human* is an extremely readable handbook, made up largely of cartoons, which sets forth seven steps to increase anyone's ability to handle people.

While the book is directed to the people who may win promotions and influence production by learning how to get the most cooperation from their assistants—i. e., shop foremen, superintendents and department heads—it applies equally well to anyone who has any relations whatsoever with other members of the human race, and that includes everyone I can think of at the moment. It also applies equally well to the betterment of relations between nations, but one can only guess whether the author had this in mind. Mr. Beckley, according to the information given on the jacket, evolved his seven simple rules while serving as the wartime skipper of a PT boat.

Force Means Failure

Under the head of "self-control," for instance, the author refers to the temptation that comes to the man who has authority over others to believe that the use of his power is the quickest and easiest way to get things done. But, says Mr. Beckley, "the use of force is always a confession of failure. Whenever you use force, you have failed as a leader of men. You are driving men, not leading them." Could the doctrines of pacifism be applied any more aptly to labor-management relations, or, for that matter, to nations carrying military power as a big stick?

The other six rules—appreciate and praise; stress rewards, avoid punishments; criticize tactfully; always listen; explain thoroughly; and consider your men's interests as you would your own—are equally in keeping with what a pacifist would consider the only intelligent, and human, way to deal with other people, or nations. The remarkable thing about the book is that it puts its message across so effectively. Relying far more on semi-humorous illustrations than on printed words, *Let's Be Human* turns hackneyed phrases into mental images that immediately hit home and leave a lasting impression. The book is bound to captivate the minds of the young and eager—would that the same thing could be done for pacifism in the field of international relations!

Lest those in a pacifistic frame of mind feel that they are already aware of the seven steps necessary to handle people successfully, I would like to refer all readers of FELLOWSHIP to two sections of *Let's Be Human*. The first is concerned with a formula for changing a man's opinion, a problem faced daily by working pacifists. Explaining that mere force or logic will not change a man's opinion, the author presents the only practical alternative.

The second section of special interest to pacifists is that devoted to rule three: stress rewards; avoid punishments. Here, says the author, it is important to remember that:

"Most anyone will work harder to gain a desirable reward than he will to avoid punishment. Psychologists have proved this time and again. In fact, fear of drastic punishment, such as losing his job, can sometimes paralyze a man so that he can't work satisfactorily at all!"

Mr. Beckley's third rule has a great deal to do with the promotion of world peace, whether he meant it that way or not. In terms of pacifism, it means stressing the rewards of non-violent relations between nations and not the punishment (war) which befalls a nation that relies on force to gain its ends. Yet who, today, heeds this simple warning? The great bulk of all antiwar material is devoted to a blow-by-blow description of the horrors that will befall us if we resort to force to settle international differences!

To paraphrase Mr. Beckley, the fear of war (drastic punishment) can sometimes paralyze a nation so that it cannot work satisfactorily for peace. The United States certainly has reached that position. Most Americans have been so frightened by descriptions of World War III (i. e., punishment for unfriendly relations with Russia) that they can no longer think in terms of peace and goodwill. All they can think of is military security to save their own skins. They have been scared away from the idea of having faith in the good intentions of their fellow world citizens. Therefore, it is obvious that the pacifist, if he is to succeed in influencing public opinion, must continually stress the rewards of living in a peaceful world, not the punishments which befall any person or nation relying on force as a means to an end. To paraphrase Mr. Beckley once again, we should not handicap the peacemakers with the fear of failure. The goal is peace, and our emphasis should be on the blessings that peace has in store for us.

EDGAR JONES

Background on China

The Development of China, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. (Sixth revised and enlarged edition.) Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946. 325 pp. $3.

The publishing industry and book lovers watch with intense interest the weekly lists of current best sellers. Even more attention should be given by us to prolonged and consistent good sellers.

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VERNON NASH

The Church and the World

Moon Gaffney, a novel by Harry Sylvester. Henry Holt and Co. 1947. 289 pp. $2.75.

The Protestant reader of this blunt book is whacked by its disclosure of the way the Roman Catholic Church permeates the lives of a vast slice of the world's people and how significant it is as a force for political rightism, of emotional preparation for war with Russia. It took courage for Harry Sylvester, a Catholic still torturingly tugged by the Church's emotional appeal, to tell, as he does, of the timidities and tyrannies, the distortion of ancient insights, the political poison in the Church today.

Moon Gaffney, the glib young New York politician who gives the novel its name, grew up cottoned in Catholicism. The Church looms across the education, the social customs, the political careers and the marriages of the prosperous Irish families on whom the story centers. Moon, when we meet him, has his career footed on a rising escalator of success. Disturbingly, he encounters the Catholic Worker, that group within the Church whose "radicalism" is really a return to the dynamics of the early Church. (FELLOWSHIP readers know it as a spring of Catholic pacifism.)

From that first flicker of uneasiness, Moon's education, and his political perils, increase. He tilts against the Church's property and political interests, against its anti-semitism and against the loose labelling of all progressive efforts as "Communist" which many priests not only allow but nourish. As we follow Moon's painful discovery of how far the long arm of the Church can reach, we surmise how brave a Catholic writer has to be, to talk with such anger, such honesty.

Harry Sylvester wrote this book only because he had to do it. That makes it worth comment, though it isn't skillfully, or even grammatically written. It is crowded with too many characters. Few of them are adequately formed, and none of their relationships are made altogether plausible.

A few figures emerge, memorably. . . A tired nun, teacher in a Catholic girl's school, talking with one of her pupils who has returned to spill out her bewilderment at a priest-arranged marriage. . . Pretty, empty, self-deceiving Rosemary,

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twittering her lethal inanities about labor unions and Negroes, at an expensive charity dance. . . The clearest portrait is of Thomas, the quiet labor leader "who never spoke ill of anyone, who suffered violence, who . . . seemed to knit, to unite others." Thomas, in the way of the saints, was infinitely understanding of others, forgiving the sly, the slow, the hypocritical, the brutal—yet he was, at the same time, stern with himself.

If Harry Sylvester's syntax makes one squirm, if he thumps with a bludgeon where he might more successfully use a sculptor's chisel to shape his characters, that isn't the important thing about his writing. Like Dreiser, he can be forgiven clumsiness because he gives us what is far more rare than literary polish: sincerity. There are many slick writers who can describe trivialities flawlessly. (Most advertising copy is technically perfect). Too few men write because they have to say something, and care about it so much that they don't ask what it may cost them.

For Pacifist Readers

There are reasons why pacifists, in particular, would want to read *Moon Gaffney*. Though Harry Sylvester once cautioned this reviewer, as we munched roast beef together at a party, "Don't get me wrong—I'm no CO," he has studied the position of the conscientious objector with fairness. He has been generous with encouragement—literary and otherwise—for one young Catholic writer who spent the past war in prison. His central message is exactly what the Fellowship's is, or should be, that "the greatest of these is love."

For Harry Sylvester's rebellion is not toward Catholicism, but toward the Church inhabiting it. As one of his characters lashes out, "What I hate is a priesthood that lacks both charity and humility and has misled and confused its people until they mistake black for white, hate for love, and darkness for light." Another protests, "You can't go into a Catholic church in the city . . . but what they're talking about collections or fornication or having more children. I can't remember the last time I heard a sermon on charity, and charity is the keystone, the touchstone of Christianity."

Harry Sylvester's hint that the Church's hope for health is in the emerging of a new sainthood is one for pacifists to ponder. He sees the Church's saving in such men as his character, Thomas. Even a bishop could be such a saint, as one of Moon Gaffney's cronies concedes:

"He would live among the poor instead of the rich. And he would fast—every day. Instead of worrying whether his parishes were big enough to pay the mortgage on their churches, he would be concerned about whether they were small enough for his pastors to know their parishioners. And instead of pietistic shysters to handle the diocesan real estate, he would employ people to move among the poor, feeding and instructing them. . . . He would be in manner humble, and beside the ring of his office he would wear another and plainer ring to remind him that when he dresses in his purple and when people kneel to kiss his ring. . . it is not he who is being honored."

If such a new sainthood could increase, what might happen? We wonder, as does this novel. Could it save the Church, save peace, save the precious, creative reachings of man? Or would we, as this book wonders, "jail, burn or damn (them)? Or just ignore (them) while (we) sat by the radio?"

ELISABETH D. DODDS

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STATE OF NEW YORK } ss:
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Alfred Hassler, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the *Fellowship* magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations) printed on reverse of this form, to wit:

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ALFRED HASSLER
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of September, 1947.

BURT H. FALL

(Seal) My commission expires March 30, 1949.

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